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SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S *EPIGRAMS* AND *FOREST*

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No systematic attempt has ever been made to catalogue the sources of the *Epigrams* and the *Forest*. There are a few incidental remarks on the subject in Gifford's notes; the very useful observations in Amos, *Martial and the Moderns*, 1858, relate only to that poet, and even they are not exhaustive. The following pages, which do not pretend to complete the list of Jonson's borrowings, will be found, I hope, of some value. The passages taken from the poems of Jonson are given from the Folio of 1616.

I. *Epigrams*

Dedication.—In his dedication, Jonson, after some remarks addressed to the earl, protests that in composing his epigrams his intentions were perfectly innocent. So Martial, in the preface to Book I: "Spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum, ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia ludant." Jonson then protests against the misinterpretation of his satire; Martial says: "absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpret." At the end Jonson adapts to his own point of view Martial's passage concerning Cato: "Non intret Cato theatrum meum, aut si intraverit, spectet. Videor mihi meo iure facturus, si epistolam versibus clusero:

Nosses iocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae
Festosque lusus et licentiam vulgi,
Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?"

Had Gifford observed that Jonson's use of the word "theatre" was taken from Martial, he would have been still more severe upon Oldys for talking of the dramatist as "master of a playhouse."

When Jonson says that many persons confess "so much loue to their diseases, as they would rather make a partie for them, then be

either rid, or told of them," he is using a thought common in Seneca; see *Epist.* lxxxix. 19: "remedia ante vultis quam vitia desinere." For other Senecan parallels, see *Discoveries*, "Nullum vitium sine patrocínio," and Castelain's notes, p. 31 of his edition.¹ Jonson used similar words at the end of the fourth chorus in *Catiline*. On the avoidance of personalities, cf. the familiar passage from Martial, X. xxxiii: "parcere personis, dicere de vitiis," and the concluding part of Juvenal's first satire, 147 ff.

Epigrams i, ii, iii, iv: Note that in Book I of Martial, Epigram i is to the reader, ii is to the reader and about the bookseller, iii is to the book, and iv is to Caesar.

Epigram ii:

Become a petulant thing, hurle inke, and wit,
As mad-men stones: not caring whom they hit.

Jonson was not the first to use this figure; cf. *Anthologia Latina*, ed. Buecheler, I, 318: "In eum qui maligne iocatur:

Vtque furens totas inmittit saxa per urbes
In populum, sic tu verba maligna iacis."

And by thy wiser temper, let men know
Thou art not couetous of least selfe-fame,
Made from the hazard of anothers shame. . . .
He that departs with his owne honesty
For vulgar praise, doth it too dearely buy.

Here he seems to be thinking of Martial's sentence in his preface: "mihi fama vilis constet et probetur in me novissimum ingenium." Cf. VII. xii: "Et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet." For the phrase "catch the world's loose laughter" see the quotation from Horace under Epigram cxv below.

Epigram iv:

And such a Prince thou art, wee daily see,
As chiefe of those still promise they will bee.

Pliny, *Paneg.* 24: quales alii principes futuros se tantum pollicentur.

Epigram xiv:

Then thee the age sees not that thing more graue,
More high, more holy, that shee more would craue.

¹ Compare Livy i, Praefatio 9.

What name, what skill, what faith hast thou in things!
 What sight in searching the most antique springs!
 What weight, and what authoritie in thy speech!
 Man scarce can make that doubt, but thou canst teach.

Pliny *Epist.* I. xxii [in lamenting the illness of Titius Aristo]: nihil est enim illo gravior, sanctius, doctius, ut mihi non unus homo, sed litterae ipsae omnesque bonae artes in uno homine summum periculum adire videantur. quam peritus ille et privati iuris et publici! quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet! nihil est quod discere velis, quod ille docere non possit. mihi certe, quotiens aliquid abditum quaero, ille thesaurus est. iam quanta sermonibus eius fides, quanta auctoritas, quam pressa et decora cunctatio!

Cf. also IV. xvii. 4: obversatur oculis ille vir, quo neminem aetas nostra graviores sanctiores subtiliores tulit.

Pardon free truth, and let thy modestie,
 Which conquers all, be once over-come by thee.

Claudian *De Cons. Stil.* ii. 329:

Tandem vince tuum, qui vincis cuncta, pudorem.

Jonson has spoiled the conceit by changing "qui vincis" to "qui vincit." There is no particular point in Camden's allowing his all-conquering modesty to be overcome by himself. There is some point in Claudian's beseeching the all-conquering Stilicho to conquer, for the moment, his great modesty.

Epigram xviii:

To thee, my way in Epigrammes seemes new,
 When both it is the old way, and the true.

Martial II. lxxvii says that Cosconius objects to his way of writing epigrams because they are too long; but Cosconius should know, what he does not, that Marsus and Pedo (both writers of the time of Augustus) wrote long epigrams. So in VI. lxxv Tuca objects both to the meter of Martial's epigrams and to their length, whereupon Martial replies, "solet fieri, denique, Tuca, licet," i.e., it is the old way, and the true. In both of these pieces Martial rebukes his critics for presuming to find fault in matters whereof they are ignorant, and this is exactly Jonson's point at the end of this epigram.

Epigram xx [perhaps suggested by Martial II. xii. 3-4]:

Hoc mihi suspectum est, quod oles bene, Postume, semper:
 Postume, non bene olet qui bene semper olet.

Epigram xxvi:

Then his chast wife, though Beast now know no more,
He' adulterers still: his thoughts lye with a whore.

Seneca *De Cont.* vii. 4: si quis cum uxore sua tamquam aliena concumbat, adulter erit, quamvis illa adultera non sit.

Epigram xxxii:

His often change of clime (though not of mind).

Horace *Epist.* I. xi. 27:

Coelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

Epigram xxxiii:

Thou art but gone before,
Whither the world must follow.

Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* xix. 2: dimisimus illos, immo consecuturi praemisimus; *Ad Polyb. de Cons.* ix. 9: Omnibus illo nobis commune est iter: quid fata deflemus? non reliquit ille nos, sed antecessit; *Epist.* lxiii. 16: Cogitemus ergo, Lucili carissime, cito nos eo perventuros, quo illum pervenisse moeremus, et fortasse . . . quem putamus perisse, praemissus est.

Epigram xxxv:

Who would not be thy subiect, Iames, t' obey
A Prince, that rules by example, more than sway?
Whose manners draw, more than thy powers constraine?

Pliny *Paneg.* 45: et alioqui nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit . . . nam vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur, nec tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo . . . et quis terror valuisset efficere quod reverentia tui effecit?

This passage was used by Jonson in a number of places. See the parallels collected in my article in *Anglia*, XXXIX, 215.

Epigram xli [this is on the model of Martial I. xxx]:

Chirurgus fuerat, nunc est vispillo Diaulus.
Coepit quo poterat clinicus esse modo.

Cf. also Martial I. xlvi.

Epigram xlii [this is an expansion of Martial VIII. xxxv]:

Cum sitis similes paresque vita,
Uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
Miror, non bene convenire vobis.

And cf. Seneca *De Ira* III. 34: Quod vinculum amoris esse debebat, seditionis atque odii causa est, idem velle.

Epigram xliii:

When in my booke, men reade but Cecill's name,
 And what I write thereof find farre, and free
 From seruile flatterie (common Poets shame)
 As thou stand'st cleere of the necessitie.

Pliny *Paneg.* 1: tantumque a specie adulationis absit gratiarum actio mea, quantum abest a necessitate.

Epigram xlv:

Seuen yeeres tho' wert lent to me, and I thee pay,
 Exacted by thy fate, on the iust day.
 O, could I loose all father, now. For why
 Will man lament the state he should enuie?
 To haue so soone scap'd worlds, and fleshes rage,
 And, if no other miserie, yet age?

Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* x develops the thought that all of our possessions, even our children, are merely lent to us by fortune (cf. *De Tranq.* xi and Cicero *Tusc. Quaest.* i. 39), whose debtors we are: "mutua accepimus . . . sic amare debemus, tamquam nihil nobis de perpetuitate, immo nihil de diuturnitate eorum promissum sit." In xix, xx, and xxii he discusses the advantages of dying early. See also *Epist.* xcix. 7: "quid autem dementius quam, cum idem tibi iter emetiendum sit, flere eum qui antecessit?" A similar train of ideas is characteristic of classical reflection; cf. Plutarch *Consolation to Apollonius* (on the death of his son; translation of 1870, i. 327):

We are not therefore to lament those who die in the bloom of their years, as if they were spoiled of things which we call enjoyments in a longer life; for it is uncertain, as we have often said, whether they are deprived of good or evil, for the evil in the world far exceeds the good. . . . We ought not therefore to take it amiss if they demand those things which they lent us only for a short time. . . . The gods have put life into our hands by a fatal necessity, and there is no prefixed time when what is so deposited will be required of us, as the brokers know not when their pawns will be demanded.

So Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus*, trans. Jebb, ll. 1229 ff. For the same train of thought pursued from a satirical point of view, see Lucian *Of Mourning*, Fowler's translation, III, 216.

Epigram lii:

Covrtling, I rather thou should'st vtterly
 Dispraise my worke, then praise it frostily:

When I am read, thou fain'st a weake applause,
As if thou wert my friend, but lack'dst a cause.

Lucian *The Rhetorician's Vade Mecum*, Fowler, III, 228: And then do not wave your hand too much—warm approval is rather low: and as to jumping up, never do it more than once or twice. A slight smile is your best expression; make it clear that you do not think much of the thing.

So Pope's "Damn with faint praise," etc.

Epigram liv:

Chev'ril cryes out, my verses libells are;
And threatens the starre-chamber, and the barre.

Horace *Serm.* II. i. 47:

Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam.

Epigram lxiii.

With what thy vertue on the times hath won,
And not thy fortune.

Valerius Maximus VIII. xv. 2 [with reference to the elder Cato]: Magisque suo merito quam fortunæ beneficio magnum.

And that thou seek'st reward of thy each act,
Not from the publike voyce, but priuate fact.

Pliny *Epist.* I. xxii. 5: recteque facti non ex populi sermone mercedem, sed ex facto petit.

Epigram lxiv:

But I am glad to see that time suruiue,
Where merit is not sepulcher'd aliue.
Where good mens vertues them to honors bring,
And not to dangers.

Pliny, *Epist.* V. xiv. 6: his ex causis ut illi sic mihi gratulor, nec privatim magis quam publice, quod tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt.

Epigram lxvi: The last two lines are almost identical with lines toward the end of *Catiline* III. ii; in a note on this passage Gifford has given the source.

Epigram lxvii:

Since men haue left to doe praise-worthy things,
Most thinke all praises flatteries.

Pliny *Epist.* III. xxi: nam postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

When, in mens wishes, so thy vertues wrought,
 As all thy honors were by them first sought:
 And thou design'd to be the same thou art,
 Before thou wert it, in each good mans heart.

Claudian *De Cons. Stil.* i. 49-50:

Taciti suffragia vulgi
 Iam tibi detulerant quidquid mox dedit aula.

Epigram lxix:

Yet by thy weapon liu'st.

Doubtless to be explained by the "mentula quem pascit," of Martial IX. lxiii.

Epigram lxx:

When Nature bids us leaue to liue, 'tis late
 Then to begin, my Roe: He makes a state
 In life, that can employ it; and takes hold
 On the true causes, ere they grow too old.
 Delay is bad, doubt worse, depending worst;
 Each best day of our life escapes vs, first.
 Then, since we (more then many) these truths know:
 Though life be short, let vs not make it so.

The topic here discussed is touched on by Horace *Epist.* I. ii. 41 ff., and Martial has several epigrams dealing with it, such as I. xv; V. xx.

Jonson is, however, drawing from Seneca *De Brev. Vitae*; cf. iii. 5: "quam serum est tunc vivere incipere, cum desinendum est?" ix. 1: "Maxima porro vitae iactura dilatio est . . . maximum vivendi impedimentum est expectatio, quae pendet ex crastino, perdit hodiernum." Then Seneca quotes the line from Virgil that Jonson makes use of (see Gifford's note). i. 4: "Ita est, non accepimus brevem vitam, sed fecimus"; i. 3: "satis longa vita et in maximarum rerum consummationem large data est, si tota bene conlocaretur" (i.e., if the whole of it be properly employed). The idea, "he makes a state in life," would seem to be derived from Seneca's comparison, in the same chapter, of the right or wrong disposition of life to the wrong use of wealth, whereby it may disappear in an instant, and the right use of small resources, whereby they increase. The idea, "ere they grow too old," is suggested by his remark that, though we do not realize that life is passing, yet we

realize that it has passed. There is, then, hardly a single idea in the epigram that may not be traced to this one tract of Seneca. The philosopher treats the same topic in *Epist.* xiii. 16-17, and xxiii. 9. Much the same ideas are introduced, occasionally the same language is employed. Seneca comments at some length on the line from Virgil in *Epist.* cviii. 25 ff.

The remark of Amos, p. 89, that the thought in this epigram was probably suggested by Martial VIII. lxxvii seems then mistaken.

Epigram lxxvi:

Of greatest bloud, and yet more good then great.

So in *Part of the King's Entertainment*,

Know greatest Iames (and no lesse good, then great).

Similar expressions are in *Epigrams*, cxiii, cxvi; *Forest*, xiii; *Underwoods*, xxxiii. The theme that virtue is the true nobility Jonson also handles in *Epigrams*, cix, *Forest*, xiv, *Underwoods*, lxiii, and *Eupheme*, No. VIII. In his collocation of "good" and "great," Jonson may very well have been thinking of such passages as Seneca *Epist.* xc. 4, where we are told that in the Golden Age, "summa felicitas erat gentium, in quibus non poterat potentior esse nisi melior"; *De Ira* I. xx. 6: "Nec est quod existimes verum esse, quod apud disertissimum virum Livium dicitur *vir ingenii magni magis quam boni*. Non potest illud separari: aut et bonum erit aut nec magnum," etc.; *De Clem.* I. v. 5; "Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet," etc. Satire viii of Juvenal is entirely devoted to the theme that virtue is the true nobility. See also Pliny *Paneg.* 21: "et hoc tantum ceteris maior, quod melior." Cf. Aristotle *Ethics* iv. 8, and the saying of Zeno (Diog. Laert., Bohn's transl., p. 267) "that excellence did not depend on greatness, but greatness on excellence."

I meant shee should be curteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemne vice of greatnesse, pride.

Claudian *De Cons. Stil* ii. 160-62:

Quin ipsa superbia longe
Discessit, vitium rebus sollemne secundis
Virtutumque ingrata comes.

Epigram lxxix:

That Poets are far rarer births then kings,
Your noblest father prou'd.

Jonson is here adapting the thought of the proverbial

Consules fiunt quotannis et novi Proconsules:
Solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur,

which he quotes at the end of the *Panegyre*, and which he utilizes elsewhere, as in *Every Man in His Humor*, V, v—Poets "are not borne euerie yeere, as an Alderman"—and also in the dedication to Prince Henry of the *Masque of Queens*.

Epigram lxxxi:

Forbeare to tempt me, Provle, I will not show
A line vnto thee, till the world it know.

Cf. Martial I. lxiii:

Ut recitem tibi nostra rogas epigrammata. Nolo.
Non audire, Celer, sed recitare cupis.

Martial has several other epigrams dealing with plagiarism, as I. xxix, xxxviii, lii, liii, lxvi, lxxii.

Epigram xci:

Humanitie, and pietie, which are
As noble in great chiefes, as they are rare.
And best become the valiant man to weare,
Who more should seek mens reuerence, then feare.

Seneca *De Clem.* I. v. 4: Clementia in quamcumque domum pervenerit, eam felicem tranquillamque praestabit, sed in regia quo rarior, eo mirabilior; Pliny *Paneg.* 46: et quis terror valuisset efficere quod reverentia tui effectit?

Epigram xciii:

Then whose I doe not know a whiter soule,
Nor could I, had I seene all Natures roule.

Cf. Horace *Serm.* I. v. 41-42:

animae, qualis neque candidiores
terra tulit.

Epigram xciv:

Yet, Satyres, since the most of mankind bee
Their vn-avoided subiect, fewest see.

Jonson has here apparently Horace *Serm.* I. iv. 22 ff. in mind:

cum mea nemo
scripta legat volgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris
culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba:
aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat
omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.

For none ere tooke that pleasure in sinnes sense,
But, when they heard it tax'd, tooke more offence.

Apuleius *Apologia* 3: cum etiam hi, qui sibi delicti alicuius conscii sunt, tamen, cum male audiunt, impendio commoueantur et obirascentur.

This is the only poem of Jonson in which he repeats at the end the opening lines (with a slight variation); Catullus does so several times (cf. xvi, xxxvi, lvii), Martial occasionally (VII. xcii, and elsewhere), and various authors in the *Latin Anthology*.

Epigram xcv:

Mineruaes loome was neuer richer spred.

The allusion is not simply to the fact that Minerva was the patroness of spinning, nor to her contest with Arachne in Ovid *Met.* vi. 1-145. Savile is urged to write history, and Jonson compares the history that he might write with "Minerva's mighty mantle consecrated and embroidered," which was "an enormous piece of tapestry adorned with the actions and figures of the naval heroes and protecting deities. It was renewed every year; and was carried to the temple, at the Panathenaic procession, suspended and displayed from a tall mast fixed on a movable carriage. See Mr. Wordsworth's *Attica*, p. 184" (Frere's transl. of Arist. *Knights*, p. 129).

For who can master those great parts like thee,
That liu'st from hope, from feare, from faction free;
That hast thy brest so cleere of present crimes,
Thou need'st not shrink at voyce of after-times;
Whose knowledge claymeth at the helme to stand;
But, wisely, thrusts not forth a forward hand,
No more then Salvst in the Romane state!
As, then, his cause, his glorie emulate.
Although to write be lesser then to doo,
It is the next deed, and a great one too.

Sallust's *Catilina* III and IV [with the ideas somewhat rearranged]: Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicae; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere. . . . Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium contere sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicae animus liber erat.

In III and IV of the *Iugurtha* Sallust explains why he does not engage in public affairs, and remarks that if he writes the great deeds of former times "maius commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicae venturum." With the last two lines of the passage quoted from the epigram, cf. Cicero *De Or.* i. 2: "Quis enim est, qui, si clarorum hominum scientiam rerum gestarum vel utilitate vel magnitudine metiri velit, non anteponat oratori imperatorem?" And see the fragment of Plutarch usually called *De Gloria Atheniensium*.

Epigram xcvi: The phrase "with the better stone" seems a reminiscence of Martial IX. lii, "melioribus lapillis"; or perhaps rather of Persius Sat. ii. 1.

A man should seeke great glorie, and not broad.

Pliny *Epist.* IV. xii. 7: "etenim nescio quo pacto, vel magis homines iuvat gloria lata quam magna." Jonson's idea is that a man should seek *claritas* rather than *fama*; see the distinction between the two in Seneca *Epist.* cii. 11 ff.; in particular: "Deinde claritas non desiderat multa suffragia; potest et unius boni viri iudicio esse contenta, si nos bonos bonus iudicat. Quid ergo? inquit, et fama erit unius hominis existimatio et infamia unius malignus sermo? gloriam quoque inquit, latius fusam intellego: consensum enim multorum exigit." In the fragmentary *De Moribus* (Teubner, III, 462), Seneca says: "Non quam multis placeas, sed qualibus, stude."

Epigram xcvi:

And studie conscience, more then thou would'st fame.

Seneca *De Ira* III. xli. 2: Conscientiae satis fiat. nil in famam laboremus; Pliny *Epist.* I. viii. 14: praeterea meminimus, quanto maiore animo honestatis fructus in conscientia quam in fama reponatur.

Epigram xcix:

Hast taught thy selfe worthy thy pen to tread,
And that to write things worthy to be read.

Pliny *Epist.* VI. xvi. 3: equidem beatos puto quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero quibus utrumque.

How much of great example wert thou, Roe,
If time to facts, as vnto men would owe?
But much it now auailles, what's done, of whom:
The selfe-same deeds, as diuersly they come,
From place, or fortune, are made high, or low,
And euen the praisers iudgement suffers so.

ibid. xxiii: Quam multum interest a quo quid fiat! eadem enim facta claritate vel obscuritate facientium aut tolluntur altissime aut humillime deprimuntur. [After narrating an instance of remarkable wifely devotion, he continues]: quod factum ne mihi quidem, qui municeps, nisi proxime auditum est, non quia minus illo clarissimo Arriae facto, sed quia minor ipsa.

Epigram cii [the greater part of this epigram is made up from passages in Seneca and Valerius Maximus]:

Against the bad, but of, and to be [the] good:
Both which are ask'd, to haue thee vnderstood.

De Tranq. Animi vii. 5: Utraque enim turba opus erat, ut Cato posset intellegi. habere debuit et bonos, quibus se adprobaret, et malos, in quibus vim suam experiretur.

And scarce one knowes,
To which, yet, of the sides himselfe he owes.
They follow vertue, for reward, to day;
To morrow vice, if shee giue better pay.

Epist. cxv. 10: ad mercedem pii sumus, ad mercedem impii, et honesta, quamdiu aliqua illis spes inest, sequimur, in contrarium transitori, si plus scelera promittent.

A similar idea in Epigram lxxi has, as there pointed out, a different source.

But thou, whose noblesse keeps one stature still,
And one true posture, though besieg'd with ill
Of what ambition, faction, pride can raise.

The reference is to what Seneca says of Cato in *Epist.* lxxi. 8:

eadem enim virtute et mala fortuna vincitur et ordinatur bona. virtus autem non potest maior aut minor fieri: unius staturae est.

Whose life, eu'n they, that enuie it, must praise.

De Benef. IV. xvii. 2: adeoque gratiosa virtus est, ut insitum sit etiam malis probare meliora.

That art so reuerenc'd, as thy comming in,
But in the view, doth interrupt their sinne.

Valerius Maximus II. 10. 8 [speaking of Cato Uticensis]: Eodem ludos Florales, quos Messius aedilis faciebat, spectante populus ut mimae nudarentur postulare erubuit. quod cum ex Fauonio amicissimo sibi una sedente cognosset, discessit e theatro, ne praesentia sua spectaculi consuetudinem impediret. quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus prosecutus priscum morem iocorum in scaenam reuocauit, confessus plus se maiestatis uni illi tribuere, quam sibi universo vindicare.

And they, that hope to see
The common-wealth still safe, must studie thee.

Perhaps we have here a reminiscence of the words used by Scipio Nasica in leading the senators against Tiberius Gracchus, Valerius Maximus, III. ii. 17: "qui rem publicam saluam esse uolunt me sequantur."

Epigram cix: Gifford and *D.N.B.*, s.v. "Sir Henry Neville," interpret the phrase "lent life" quite wrongly. The allusion is not to any danger that Sir Henry underwent, for in that case "lent life" would have to mean life lent by those who freed him from prison. Jonson, however, is merely expressing the classical doctrine, particularly the Stoic doctrine, according to which one's life should be regarded as a loan from the fates or from God, and one should stand ready to repay the loan at any moment. See above under Epigram xlv. The idea is common enough, and Gifford should have recognized it at once. Sir Henry's imprisonment, then, cannot be utilized as a means of determining the *terminus a quo* of this piece:

To be the same in roote, thou art in height.

Virgil, *Georgics* ii. 290-92:

altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos,
aesculus in primis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

For the source of another passage in this epigram, see my article on "Cynthia's Revels," in *Flügel Memorial Volume*, 1916, 62.

Epigram cxv:

Being no vitious person, but the vice.

Martial XI. xcii:

Non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium.

A good part of this epigram is founded on Horace *Serm.* I. iv. 81 ff.:

Absentem qui rodit, amicum
qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit: hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

But there are also hints from Seneca *De Ira* II. xxix. 4:

Hic ipse qui ad te detulit, desinet dicere, si probare debuerit. "non est, inquit, quod me protrahas, ego productus negabo, alioquin nihil umquam tibi dicam."

Epigram cxvi:

That Nature no such difference had imprest
In men, but every brauest was the best.

Sallust *Iugurtha* lxxxv [in the speech of Marius to the Romans]: Quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum.

Several lines in this epigram seem to owe their origin to what Marius says in this part of his speech.

Epigram cxix: This contains a number of ideas from Seneca *Epist.* v:

illud autem te admoneo, ne eorum more, qui non proficere sed conspici cupiunt, facias aliqua, quae in habitu tuo aut genere vitae notabilia sint . . . sed non putemus frugalitatis indicium auro argentoque caruisse: id agamus, ut meliorem vitam sequamur quam volgus, non ut contrariam.

So Seneca tells Lucilius that he must not go to extremes in separating himself from the crowd: "Quemadmodum desiderare delicatas res luxuriae est, ita usitatas et non magno parabiles fugere dementiae," i.e., these things should be governed by judgment, not disease. Cf. also *De Tranq. Animi* vii. 4: "pro optimo est minime malus," though Seneca is there speaking of persons, not actions. Cf. Fragment xx: "Omnia, quae luxuriosi faciunt quaeque imperiti, faciet et sapiens, sed non eodem modo eodemque proposito."

Which is to liue to conscience, not to show.

Pliny *Epist.* I. xxii. 5: ornat haec magnitudo animi, quae nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam refert.

Epigram cxxii [apparently modeled on Martial I. xxxix]:

Si quis erit raros inter numerandus amicos,
 Quales prisca fides famaue novit anus,
 Si quis Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae
 Artibus et vera simplicitate bonus,
 Si quis erit recti custos, mirator honesti
 Et nihil arcano qui roget ore deos,
 Si quis erit magnae subnixus robore mentis:
 Dispeream, si non hic Decianus erit.

Perhaps this is the model for all of those epigrams of Jonson in which he first paints an ideal and then points out that this ideal describes the subject of the epigram; see Epigram lxxvi.

Epigram cxxvii:

I know no abler way
 To thanke thy benefits: which is, to pay.

This is Senecan doctrine, of course. *Epist.* lxxiii. 9: "interdum autem solutio [beneficii] est ipsa confessio." And see *De Beneficiis*, *passim*.

Epigram cxxxi:

When we doe giue, Alphonso, to the light,
 A worke of ours, we part with our owne right.

Cf. Horace *Epist.* I. xx. 6, but more particularly Symmachus (Teubner ed.), p. 221: "Cum semel a te profectum carmen est, ius omne posuisti. oratio publica res libera est."

For, if the hum'rous world will talke at large,
 They should be fooles, for me, at their owne charge.
 Say, this, or that man they to thee preferre;
 Euen those for whom they doe this, know they erre:
 And would (being ask'd the truth) ashamed say,
 They were not to be nam'd on the same day.
 Then stand vnto thy selfe, not seeke without
 For fame, with breath soone kindled, soone blowne out.

The point of view, together with certain expressions, recall Roman i. 4 ff.

ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem
 praetulerint? nugae. non, si quid turbida Roma

elevet, accedas examenque improbum in illa
castiges trutina, nec te quaesiveris extra.

Epigram cxxxiii:

The oxen in Livie.

Livy I. vii gives the account of the theft of Hercules' cattle by Cacus.

My Muse had plough'd with his, that sung A-iax.

Judg. 14:18: If ye had not ploughed with my Heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.

II. *Forest*

Forest, ii:

Thy Mount, to which the Dryads doe resort,
Where Pan, and Bacchus their high feasts haue made,
Beneath the broad beech, and the chest-nut shade; . . .
And thence the ruddy Satyres oft provoke
The lighter Faunes, to reach thy Ladies oke.

The mere mention of Pan, the Dryads, and the Fauns would mean little, but when Jonson refers to the revelry of these rural deities, we can hardly doubt that he has in mind lines from Martial IX. lxi:

Dumque fugit solos nocturnum Pana per agros,
Saepe sub hac latuit rustica fronde Dryas.
Saepe sub hac madidi luserunt arbore Fauni,
Terruit et tacitam fistula sera domum.
Atque oluere lares commissatore Lyaeo,
Crevit et effuso laetior umbra mero;
Hesternisque rubens deiecta est herba coronis,
Atque suas potuit dicere nemo rosas.

In ll. 25 ff. Jonson describes the land surrounding Penshurst as taking pleasure in providing food for its lord; cf. Virgil *Georgics* ii. 501-2:

quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
sponte tulere sua, carpsit.

The "fat, aged carps, that runne into thy net," are marked by Gifford in his edition of Juvenal as from Satire iv. 69; in his Jonson he says nothing.

Where comes no guest, but is allow'd to eate,
Without his feare, and of thy lords owne meate;
Where the same beere, and bread, and selfe-same wine,
That is his Lordships, shall be also mine.

And I not faine to sit (as some, this day,
 At great mens tables) and yet dine away.
 Here no man tells my cups; nor, standing by,
 A waiter, doth my gluttony enuy:
 But giues me what I call.

See Martial III. lx, especially: "Cur sine te ceno, cum tecum, Pontice, cenem" (as noted also by Amos, p. 157), which may perhaps be the source of Jonson's reproach to Salisbury (*Conversations*, xiii). Jonson very possibly had also an eye upon the lively account in Juvenal v. 24 ff. of the different wines and breads eaten by *dominus* and *cliens*; at least, it is rather significant that he should single out wine and bread for comment and say nothing about meats. A passage in Lucian's *Saturnalian Letters* (Fowler, IV, 119) is worth citing:

Further let them [the rich] entertain us . . . more on principles of equality; let us all share alike. The way now is for one to gorge himself on some dainty, keeping the servant waiting about him till he is pleased to have done; but when it reaches us, as we are in the act of helping ourselves it is whisked off. . . . And pray charge the butlers not to make us call unto seven times, but bring us our wine when we ask for it first; and let it be a full-sized cup and a bumper, as it is for their masters. And the same wine, please, for every one at table; where is the legal authority for my host's growing mellow on the choicest bouquet while my stomach is turned with mere must?

In this connection Pliny *Epist.* II. vi is interesting.

Forest, iii: The first half of this, roughly speaking, seems adapted from Martial I. xlix, the second half from the latter part of Book ii of the *Georgics*. In neither case is Jonson slavishly imitating, but there are clear indications that he had both pieces in mind. For instance, note that Martial runs over the seasons of the year, as Jonson does, and that he condemns the life of the city, though in Jonson the order of the two topics is reversed. In Martial each season of the year will provide its appropriate occupations, hunting or other. The logs piled on the hearth recall the "vicina in ipsum silva descendet focum," and the rout of rural folk that come thronging in remind us of the

Vocabitur venator et veniet tibi
 Conviva clamatus prope;
 Lunata nusquam pellis et nusquam toga
 Olidaeque vestes murice.

As for Virgil, note that Jonson contrasts the happy life led by Wroth with the life of the soldier (with Jonson's lines on the soldier, cf. Tibullus I. x. 29-32), the miser, and the lawyer; *Georgics* 505 ff.:

hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penatis,
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro;
hic stupet attonitus rostris, hunc plausus hiantem, etc.

Just preceding this passage Virgil has celebrated the Golden Age, as Jonson does. When in the earlier part of the poem Jonson speaks of securer rest, of polished pillars and gilded roofs, of lowing herds, of sleep under the trees, of the cool shade, and of rivers, he is utilizing ll. 460 ff.:

si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
at secura quies
speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni.

Furthermore, the passage beginning

The whil'st the seuerall seasons thou hast seene, etc.,

with its mention of the sheep, the ripened ears, the furrows laden with their weight, the apple harvest, the hogs returned home fat from mast, recalls ll. 516 ff.:

nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus
aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.
venit hiems: teritur Sicyonica baca trapetis,
glande sues laeti redeunt.

In addition there are one or two other allusions worth noticing. "Unbought provision" is apparently suggested by "Et sua non emptus praeparat ova cinis," Martial I. lv, or the "leporem inemptum" of IV. lxvi, or the "dapibus inemptis" of *Georgics* iv. 133, or the "dapes inemptas" of Horace *Epode* ii. 48. The last is the likeliest, perhaps, as Jonson translated this epode. For life as a thing but lent, see above under Epigram xlv. With the passage

Let thousands more goe flatter vice, and winne,
By being organes to great sinne,
Get place, and honor, and be glad to keepe
The secrets, that shall breake their sleepe,

compare Juvenal iii. 49:

Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
Aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis,

and Martial VI. 1:

Vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto.

With the usurer brooding over his wealth, cf., in addition to the passage above, the "incubasque gazae" of Martial XII. liii. 3 and Virgil *Aeneid* vi. 610:

aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis.

The rout of rurall folke

And the great Heroes, of her race,
Sit mixt with losse of state, or reuerence.

Freedome doth with degree dispense.

Cf. Statius, *Silvae* i. 6. 43:

una uescitur omnis ordo mensa:
parui, femina, plebs eques senatus;
libertas reuerentiam remisit.

Forest, iv:

Or, hauing scap'd, shall I returne,
And thrust my necke into the noose,
From whence, so lately, I did burne,
With all my powers, my selfe to loose?
What bird, or beast, is knowne so dull,
That fled his cage, or broke his chaine,
And tasting ayre, and freedome, wull
Render his head in there againe?

Horace *Serm.* II. vii. 68-71:

Euasti. Credo, metues doctusque cauebis;
quaeres quando iterum paueas iterumque perire
possis, o totiens seruus! quae belua ruptis,
cum semel effugit, reddit se praua catenis?

Forest, xi:

Not to know vice at all, and keepe true state,
Is vertue, and not Fate:
Next, to that vertue, is to know vice well,
And her blacke spight expel.

Plato *Gorgias* (Jowett, 3d ed., II, 364-65): He, then, has the first place in the scale of happiness who has never had vice in his soul . . . and he has the second place, who is delivered from vice.

Seneca *Herc. Furens*, 1098–99:

proxima puris
sors est manibus nescire nefas,

and *Phaedra*, 140–41:

Honesta primum est velle nec labi via,
pudor est secundus nosse peccandi modum.

The comparison of the soul to a kingdom ruled by reason is to be found in the Stoic philosophy; cf. Seneca *Epist.* cxiv. 23–24, and Plutarch (transl. of 1870) iii. 173, 175; and see his own words, p. 489. Plato *Republic* iv. 441–42 (Jowett, III, 134–35) is apt, but the closest passage is in *Timaeus* 69–70 (Jowett, III, 491–92):

That part of the inferior soul which is endowed with courage and passion and loves contention they settled nearer the head, midway between the midriff and the neck, in order that it might be under the rule of reason and might join with it in controlling and restraining the desires when they are no longer willing of their own accord to obey the word of command issuing from the citadel.

The heart . . . was set in the place of guard, that when the might of passion was roused by reason making proclamation of any wrong assailing them from without or being perpetrated by the desires within, etc.

Cf. Aristotle *Politics* i. 5. Jonson used the same figure in a long passage in *Every Man in His Humor*, not reprinted in the Folio (see Bang's reprint of the Quarto, 890 ff.). The figure is, of course, very common in one form or another.

The thing, they here call Loue, is blinde Desire
Inconstant, like the sea, of whence 'tis borne,
Rough, swelling, like a storme:
With whom who sailes, rides on the surge of feare. . . .

. . . . Now, true Loue

No such effects doth proue;
That is an essence, farre more gentle, fine,
Pure, perfect, nay diuine;
It is a golden chaine let downe from heauen,
Whose linkes are bright, and euen.
That falls like sleepe on louers. . . .

Cf. Lucian *Demosthenes* (Fowler, IV, 149):

And so, my dear sir, your way is open to a disquisition upon the two kinds of human love, the one sprung of a desire that is like the sea, outrageous, fierce, stormily rocking the soul; it is a true sea wave, which the earthly Aphrodite sets rolling with the tempestuous passions of youth; but the other is the steady drawing of a golden cord from heaven; it does not

scorch and pierce and leave festering wounds; it impels towards the pure and unsullied ideal of absolute beauty, etc.

The doctrine is Platonic, but I find no passage in Plato so close to the one in Jonson.

He that for loue of goodnesse hateth ill,
Is more crowne-worthy still,
Then he, which for sinnes penaltie forbeares.
His heart sinnes, though he feares.

Horace, *Epist.* I. xvi. 52 ff.:

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.

Idem. *Serm.* II. vii. 72-74:

Tolle periculum:
iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.

Ovid *Amores* III. iv. 3-4:

Siqua metu dempto castast, ea denique castast;
Quae, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.

Seneca *De Benef.* IV. xiv. 1: Non immerito in numerum peccantium refertur, quae pudicitiam timori praestitit, non sibi.

Forest, xii (the opening lines seem to be an adaptation of Tibullus III. i):

Martis Romani festae venere kalendae
(exoriens nostris hic fuit annus avis),
et vaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa
perque vias urbis munera perque domos:
dicite, Pierides, quonam donetur honore
seu mea, seu fallor, cara Neaera tamen.
carmine formosae, pretio capiuntur avarae:
gaudeat, ut digna est, versibus illa meis.

Those other glorious notes,
Inscrib'd in touch, or marble, or the cotes
Painted, or caru'd vpon our great-mens tombs,
Or in their windowes; doe but proue the wombs,
That bred them, graues: when they were borne, they di'd,
That had no Muse, etc.

Gifford, of course, points out the familiar ode of Horace that inspired this part of the poem, but the lines quoted seem to be especially illustrated by Seneca *Ad Polyb. de Cons.* xviii. 2:

hoc enim unum est rebus humanis opus, cui nulla tempestas noceat, quod nulla consumat vetustas. cetera quae per constructionem lapidum

et marmoreas moles aut terrenos tumulos in magnam eductos altitudinem constant, non propagant longam diem quippe et ipsa intereunt: immortalis est ingenii memoria.

Forest, xiii:

And no man know,
Whether it be a face they weare, or no.

This is explained by *Catiline* II:

They say, it is
Rather a visor, then a face shee weares.

A Greek epigram by Lucilius was translated into Latin by Sir Thomas More (see *Florilegium Epigrammatum* [1629], p. 28; an English translation by Sir George Buck in the 1631 ed. of Stowe, p. 1085). It contains these lines:

Desine iam faciem stibio depingere totam,
Ne larvam, haud faciem quis putet esse tuam.

May they haue nothing left, whereof they can
Boast, but how oft they haue gone wrong to man:
And call it their braue sinne. For such there be
That doe sinne onely for the infamie.

Seneca *Epist.* xxviii. 10: Quidam vitiis gloriantur; *Epist.* cxxii. 18: nolunt solita peccare, quibus peccandi praemium infamia est.

Forest, xiv:

'Twill be exacted of your name, whose sonne,
Whose nephew, whose grand-child you are;
And men
Will, then,
Say you haue follow'd farre,
When well begunne.

See Cicero *De Off.* ii. 13. 44: "Nam si quis ab ineunte aetate habet causam celebritatis et nominis aut a patre acceptam, quod tibi, mi Cicero, arbitror contigisse, aut aliquo casu atque fortuna, in hunc oculi omnium coniciuntur atque in eum, quid agat, quem ad modum vivat, inquiritur et, tamquam in clarissima luce versetur, ita nullum obscurum potest nec dictum eius esse nec factum."